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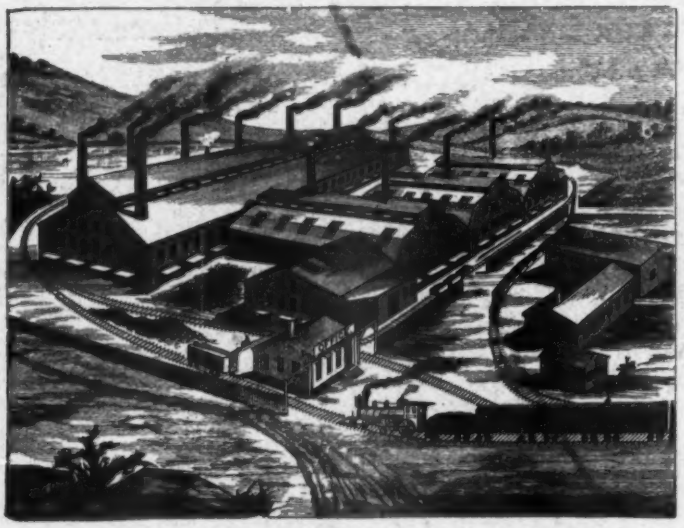

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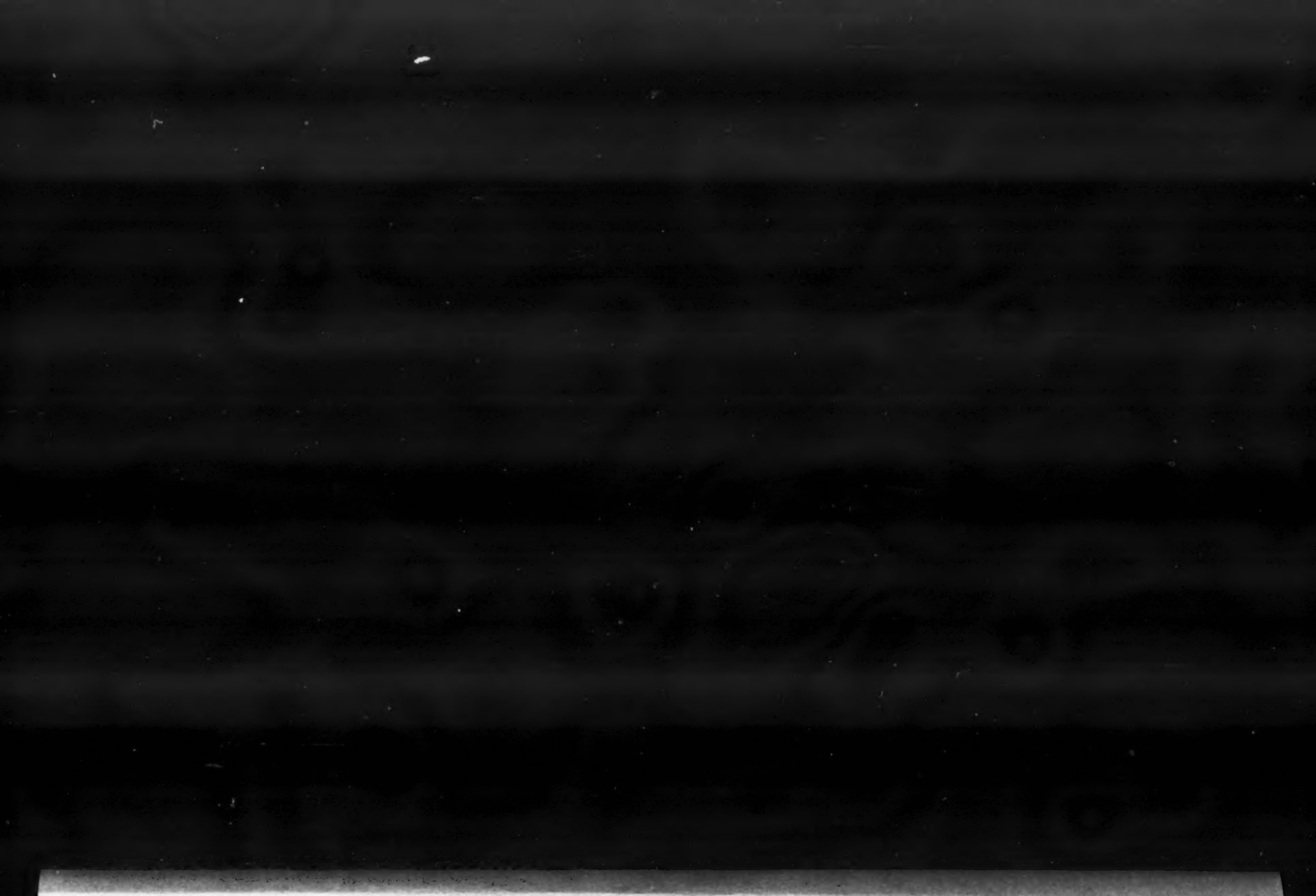

American Federationist.

DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS AND VOICING THE DEMANDS
OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

VOL. II. INDIANAPOLIS, IND., APRIL, 1895. NO. 2.

Unity.

"Help one another," the snowflakes said,
As they cuddled down in their fleecy bed;
"One of us here would quickly melt,
But I'll help you and you'll help me,
And then what a big white drift we'll see!"

"Help one another," the maple spray
Said to its fellow-leaves one day;
"The sun would wither me here alone,
Long enough ere the day is gone;
But I'll help you and you'll help me,
And then what a splendid shade there'll be."

"Help one another," a grain of sand
Said to another grain just at hand:
"The wind may carry me over the sea,
And then, O, what will become of me?
But come, my sister, give me your hand,
We'll build a mountain and there we'll stand."

—*Anonymous.*

The Law of the Land.

BY THOMAS J. MORGAN.

A government of the people! A sovereign people! We, the people, rule in the United States! So we shout; so we vote. Are we mistaken? Oh, no! Look here, we have never followed false gods, will o' the wisps, or gone ghost dancing, or rainbow chasing. Oh, no! we are too smart for that. We have kept on sawing wood, and have the proof of the sawer's common sense.

Congress consists of 446 members, representing all the people, elected by all the people, who are mostly engaged in sawing wood, or otherwise pleasantly employed in sewers, coal mines, sweat shops and other health resorts, except on election day, when they exercise their citizenship and exhibit their intelligence by electing the following REPRESENTATIVES:

Lawyers	285	Capitalists	13
Farmers	38	Physicians	5
No occupation	35	Professors	3
Bankers	17	Mine owners	2
Manufacturers	17	Meat packer	1
Merchants	15	Street railway president	1
Journalists	13	Preachers	1

Once in a while some "stupid fellow" will stop sawing wood long enough to point out the fact that there is not a sawer, or coal miner, or hod carrier, among these representatives of the people, but he is told to stick to his saw-dust matting, and not to get it into his head that he knows more than the wise old contrivers who guide the gang of simple sawers; and the man who gets the wood after it is sawed laughs, nominates another lawyer and the sawer votes for him, and thereby helps elect another *representative*.

As with elections for congress, so with the state assembly, so with our judiciary, and if by any mistake the representatives of the dear people pass a law to lesson the work at the wood-pile, the court bangs it with a constitutional club, and there you are.

A few of us have stopped sawing wood to-day, for a chance to think; but don't be afraid, we have done this before, but we never deserted the wood-pile. Let us think: Oh, yes, we are the people, we are sovereigns, we are a government of the people. Yes, that is all right, but it is as well to repeat this, so that we may not go astray so far that we can not get back. We will hold on to that with one hand while with the other we turn back a few pages of the history of this State (Illinois).

In 1867, with shouts of glee, we paraded the streets with the pen that signed the eight-hour law.

In 1878 we rejoiced over the establishment of a bureau of labor.

In 1879 the city council, at our request, adopted the best features of the English factory laws, in a local ordinance, and later the truck system was declared unlawful.

Then the weekly pay bill was passed.

The contract convict laborer was wiped out by a constitutional amendment; and, last of all, in 1893, the law for state inspection of factories, prohibition of child labor, and a limitation of eight hours work per day for women and children was passed.

Now let us see the effect:

The eight-hour law of 1867 was a barefaced fraud.

The bureau of labor was made a cog in the political machine.

The truck system still exists.

Wages are not paid weekly, and contract convict labor still plagues the organized labor of the state.

The local factory ordinance is and ever has been but an excuse for more political appointments, and now the state factory law is declared unconstitutional. The supreme court (the same body of men which hung the so-called anarchists for talking) unanimously declare:

"That the legislature has no right to interfere with the freedom of contract between workman and employer.

"That the constitution, the law of the land, provides that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty

or property without due process of law. That the privilege of contracting is both a liberty and a property right. That labor is property, and the laborer has a right to contract with reference thereto, as has any other property owner. That to deprive him of this right is to deprive him of his property. That the law can not prohibit the employment of women for more than eight hours, because such employment injures their health, any more than it can prohibit men from working in white lead industries, and in that way contracting lead poisoning."

This decision of the court is followed up by the attorney for the manufacturers' association, which association raised $25,000 to contest the constitutionality of the law, who says:

"The decision is gratifying. This legislative attempt to encroach on the constitution has been thwarted. The tendency of legislation (sic) has been altogether too strong in the direction of regulating and controlling economic conditions. Our lawmakers are too frequently influenced by public clamor (sic) and misdirected agitation for the cure of so-called social wrongs. The law in question, instead of being based on constitutional freedom and liberty, tends to destroy liberty. It sprang from the needs of paternalism and socialism, neither of which has any place in this country. The moment the liberty of labor is restricted, impaired or infringed upon by legislation, just at that moment is the whole structure of government undermined. The law in question was contrary in principle to American ideas of freedom and independence. I am, therefore, doubly glad that the supreme court has applied and enforced, in a way so rugged and decisive, the doctrine that woman is equal to man before the law, and that her right to her labor, which constitutes her property, is as sacred and impregnable as is the similar right of man."

Great America! Is it not a pity that this lawyer was not in the A. F. of L. Denver convention? "Paternalism and socialism have no place in this country." That reads as if it would have smashed "plank 10" into kindling wood. "Woman is equal to man before the law; their right to labor constitutes their property—a sacred and impregnable right." Then the supreme court says: "Labor is property. Freedom of contract is liberty. The constitution provides that no one shall be deprived of life, liberty or property (labor) without due process of law." Look here, you sawers of wood, do you understand?' Your REPRESENTATIVES on the bench say that all eight-hour and other laws to control economic conditions are socialistic and un-American. That all our labor is property, to be sold in the market to the highest bidder. That the hungry laborer is not to be restricted in his American right to make a free contract with an employer. That it is his right to agree to work for eighteen hours a day if he wants to, and take fifty cents per day, or less, if he can get no more. That it is constitutional liberty for the friendless and weak woman to make the same kind of contract, and then raise her children, if she can, on such vitality as may be left in her under such a free contract. That the manufacturers' associations, their attorneys and the courts, will protect you from all mistakes your representatives may make. That life, liberty and freedom of contract must and shall not perish, so long as the constitution is saved from the attacks of socialism.

Now, brother workingmen, do you know where you are at? To strike for less hours and higher pay is a crime, and all legal regulations are unconstitutional, because they are socialistic. Don't you see that the woodpile and the simple sawers are between the devil and the deep sea?

The Ruling Power.

BY SAM L. LEFFINGWELL.

It does not have to be maintained by much of profound argument that no one is born into the world with power to control the opinions of others; nor that the power of all others combined must, of right, control the opinion of the individual. Opinion is regulated solely by impression, and to insist that one's opinion must regulate and establish the opinions of all others, would be to question the reason or sanity of the mass.

A certain degree of friction is as necessary to a healthy development of the intellect as it is to that of the physical frame, in its natural evolutions, by successive changes, to a more perfect state. Hence, no danger can come of discussion by the many, though founded upon speculation or contemplation. Any theory, however philosophical in its flight, is not binding on the individual. It falls as an impression upon his mind, and affects it only in proportion to its force of logic upon the weakness or firmness of his intellectual caliber. At one moment he may be swayed in one direction, at the next in another, and the friction thus produced by the changing of thought, proves advantageous, not only as a development, but in an established enlightenment of his faculties; and, allowing even that his mind may settle upon mere hypothesis, his liberty of thought is still preserved, his opinion is maintained beyond the direction or control of any power outside of his own will or determination.

It is in the exercise of this liberty of opinion that I offer, in my weak way, the thoughts which follow. I do not claim to be very learned, nor do I feel that I can clothe a thought with any degree of excellence in diction or phraseology. Neither do I offer it as established dictum, binding upon others. It is merely an opinion, founded upon observations which have impressed me, and may have no more weight for influence than the opinion—as mere opinion—of any other individual, however learned, would have upon me. If it will lead to further thought, and even bring out expressions widely different, my mission will have been filled and it will render me satisfaction in pleasurable recompense.

One of the more ancient philosophers and writers has said that the ideal state is not a mere community or place; nor is it established that men may be saved from injury and maintain an interchange of good

offices. All these things, indeed, must take place where there is a state, and yet they may all exist where there be no state. The proper definition of a state, then, is to be a society of people joining together, by their families and children, to live happily, enjoying a life of thorough independence.

The people of a state should be controlled by fixed laws. The only protection against the demagogue—the charlatan—is in the supremacy of the laws. And in a purely republican form of government the formulation of law should be at the dictation of the many as against the few. Where the few dictate to the many disaster is likely to follow and conditions for the worse can only be expected.

Education and good morals go to make the good citizen; and it should follow that the same rule would apply to the good statesman or to the one delegated to make a good executive officer. Any good citizen should be a sharer in the judicial and executive functions of the government. But it would also be claimed that a peculiar quality of a good citizen is to know how to command as well as to obey.

Unity and community can not be brought to a healthful consummation except by education, which should be fashioned strictly by manners, philosophy and laws. The corruption of good government is the worst form of government. There can be no freedom without supreme law, for law ought to be above all. The only stable condition in a state is that where every one possesses an equality before the law and enjoys his own unmolested.

There are always three kinds of people in any state. The very rich, the very poor, and those who are between them. It is an acknowledged fact that the intermediate class is always the best; even in respect to wealth and fortune, a middle state is to be preferred, for in that condition the class is most likely to submit to reason. Those who are very wealthy, very handsome, or very strong, or, on the other hand, those who are very poor, or very weak, or very much degraded, are with difficulty induced to obey reason. One class is supercillious, the other rascally and mean, and the crimes arise respectively from insolence and servility.

It follows, then, that the most perfect political community is that which is administered by the middle class, that is where the middle class is the majority or ruling power, or where it holds such balance of power as to prevent either of the extremes from predominating. A government is more secure where the members of the community are nearly on an equality with each other. It is questionable whether an extreme democracy is not equally dangerous with an extreme oligarchy, or whether the excess of both might not prove tyranny. Where the state is large, fewer seditions and insurrections disturb the peace, and this because they are more peaceful internally as the middle class is more numerous. In smaller states it is easier to pass to the two extremes, because all are very poor or very rich.

But, some will rise and say, what has all this to do with our condition? We live in a republic; we are free born; we can come and go when and where we please; we have the privileges of education and enlightenment; we have a voice in the formulation of laws; we delegate our choice to administer the laws; we are the middle class you speak of, and we, as a majority, are already the ruling power, and can make and unmake statesmen and rulers at will.

How much of this is true? You live in a republic and are free born; can you always go and come when you please? You have all the advantages of education and enlightenment; but do you demonstrate its advantages in the formulation of laws and in your choice of those who administer them? You are the middle class, truly; are you of the bourgeois, or of the proletaire? You can make and unmake statesmen without doubt, but how do you discharge your functions as the "ruling power?"

As a "ruling power" how do you explain your conditions to-day? If industry is throttled and thousands of honest hands are deprived of the privilege of earning sustenance for wives and little ones, does the responsibility rest with either of the extremes—the very rich or the very poor—or with the middle class, as the "ruling power?"

Who is it that influences the formulation of the laws and directs your representatives in the performance of duties delegated by you, as the "ruling power?" Which one of the extremes—the very rich or the very poor—do you recognize as the most powerful? Are you slaves to the insolence of the one, or the rascality of the other, or both combined?

You sum up in your complaints many of the ills which afflict you, but you must not shift the responsibility upon the shoulders of those who take advantage of your imbecility to oppress you. If you are the "ruling power," whose fault is it that you suffer? If the man with a million dollars can influence such legislation as will rob you to double his million, who is to blame for the corruption? Is it the briber or bribe-taker? The latter is your own choice, and the former, from all past experiences, can depend upon the reappearance of the latter or one fashioned in the same mold, to do his bidding when occasion requires.

The alleged guilty parties in such disgraceful transaction as this are not so much to blame as is the system which enables them to perform the act; and neither one of these evils are more censurable than that which claims, and really is, the "ruling power," in suffering a continuance of such moral badness.

I do not propose to offer an essay on politics, even as applied to economy; if the politics displayed by the average working man is an illustration of the science of government, I am not prepared to say it is the kind of science best adapted to an amelioration of his condition.

Things are certainly in bad shape. But the case is not entirely hopeless. It is no difficult matter to see how it may be changed. If there ever was a chance for the "middle class" to assert itself as the "ruling power," it was never better than is now presented. If the majority will not right the wrongs which afflict it,

it should not censure as entirely bad the minority which exercises the privileges of opportunities afforded it.

There seems to be great dread in many quarters that "politics" will somehow crawl into the trade unions and cause general disruption. The man who becomes wildly belligerent at the mention of politics forming part of the discussion at union meetings is lacking in judgment and apprehension of the basic principles of true unionism. By politics is not necessarily meant office-mongering or partisan warfare. Politics is the science or art of government, and certainly the science of government should be applied to a union of workingmen in any trade or calling, if stability is the aim of its projectors. It must be founded and framed in such manner as to be not easily shaken or overthrown. It must have a settled method by which the government of its affairs are soundly administered. If to do this is not good policy what is it; and what is the action of any body of men laying down a line of policy and adhering to it but politics in its broadest sense? Politics in union meetings! I should say so. And lots of it, too. Isn't it politics to form a trade union, with well-established laws and adopt methods for their enforcement? Isn't it politics to frame a scale of wages and offer it to those who desire it as the price of your labor or services? Isn't it politics to contrive measures for steady employment and shorter hours of toil? Of course it is. And it's politics—good politics, too—to provide means for something to eat and to wear; to provide for those depending upon you for sustenance; and there need be no shame attached, if you should carry your politics farther, into providing something for a rainy day.

There need be no fear of internal strife. A trade or labor union has no power—nor does it pretend to have—to regulate or direct the opinion of any of its members on anything but their economic welfare, well-being and prosperity. It bars no one on account of his belief, whether in partisan affiliations, social connections, or his belief in anything, sectarian, denominational, or otherwise. It recognizes the rights of all, regardless of sex, color, race or nationality. All it requires is honesty, fairness and faithfulness to the duties of its connections.

With all these acknowledged attributes of liberty and power, why should we not strive to ameliorate our conditions by going beyond the portals of local and immediate wants? There are many evils and ills which stare us in the face, that put the lie to the claims of justice and equity in the administration of governmental affairs, national, state and municipal. Congress and legislative halls are corrupted to the money power; large trusts and money syndicates regulate the prices of food, clothing and other necessities; railroads and other thieving corporations bear heavily the iron hand of oppression upon the helpless and dependent; vitiated and debased dispensers of justice flaunt the weapons of injunction and imprisonment, with utter contempt to the personal rights of the citizen; militarism spreads itself across and over the land in positive defiance of the rights of sovereign states, and a subsidized and capitalist press joins in the chase to hound and run to cover all who do not bow down to the will of monopoly and the money power.

These conditions can not be changed in a day, or a year. It is not the evils which exist that must alone be destroyed. It is the system of laws extant which permits the continuance of such criminality. More must be done than to merely "scotch the snake." The system is what must be killed if we would eradicate the poison. This can only be done by legislation. It may take time. The world was not made in a day. But it must be done. The time to begin is now. The middle class of this country are the working class—politically, as an established fact. As the middle class, they are the "ruling power," and as such they must exercise that power, politically, in the overthrow of all barriers standing as a menace to their progress, prosperity and happiness.

The Free Coinage of Silver at a Ratio of 16 to 1.

BY FRANK L. HOENES.

People who depend on the public press for information regarding this question are easily led to follow the example of most of the papers and substitute ridicule where their digest of the subject unfits them for argument. They "parrot" the cry of the eastern press, and call the advocates of this reform "silver cranks" with the nonchalance which ignorance begets.

Why is it that the eastern press, with a few rare exceptions, favors the single gold standard, and the press of the west and south is in favor of a bimetallic currency? Because the east is creditor of the south and west, and the single gold standard enriches the holder of such securities as the south and west were forced to give, to get the necessary money to develop their resources. What the south and west want is a return to the same conditions under which their debts were contracted, and not be forced to pay the tribute which the gold power now exacts, for by demonetizing silver in 1873 nearly one-half of our debt-paying money was taken from us, and we are expected to liquidate in full with a dollar that has double the purchasing power it had previous to that year, and an obligation contracted with $40 per capita in circulation must necessarily be twice as hard to meet with only half that amount in circulation to do it with.

The favorite argument of the gold standard men is that the silver dollar is only worth 57 cents, but they can not deny that an ounce of silver will buy as much now as it did in 1873, for with silver in 1873 worth $1.32 per ounce, it would buy one bushel of wheat valued at that time at about $1.30 per bushel, and in 1895, with silver worth 60 cents an ounce, we can still buy a bushel of wheat, valued now at about 60 cents. This proves that silver, measured by all other staples, has not declined, but that the purchasing power of gold has doubled. The question might be asked, if silver will buy as much now as in 1873, what use would

there be in remonetizing that metal? The answer is, that while the price of all commodities has declined at the same rate that the purchasing power of gold has increased, it does not in the least alter the conditions of a debt contracted previous to the demonetization of silver; for now a farmer who owes $2,000 on a mortgage, must raise 4,000 bushels of wheat to pay the debt which was contracted at a time when 2,000 bushels would have liquidated the mortgage.

This question is not alone of interest to the south and west, although, through circumstances, those sections are brought more forcibly in contact with resulting conditions, but is of interest to every one in the United States. The thousands of failures every year speak eloquently in favor of our argument, and thousands more are gliding with the current that is fast drifting toward insolvency. Directly it affects us all, for by that insidious act committed in 1873, all bondholders were given nearly four times the price they originally paid for their bonds.

The government of the United States issued $2,800,000,000 worth of bonds, which were bought at 60 cents on the dollar, but were worth one dollar at par. These bonds were made payable in coin. Coin at that time meant gold and silver. When the demonetization of silver was brought about, it increased the value of these bonds in the same ratio that the money they were payable in was contracted; in other words, with one-half the redemption power gone, their value was increased to that extent. All government bonds issued by general act of congress are made payable in COIN. The act of 1875 authorizing the secretary of the treasury to issue bonds, whenever in his opinion it would be necessary, to maintain the reserve fund of $100,000,000, makes those bonds payable in COIN. Under this act the latest issue of bonds, amounting to over $100,000,000, was floated, and with this last issue came a bribe to congress to make these bonds payable in gold, claiming an alleged saving of $16,000,000 could be had, but congress rose superior to the temptation and saved the country from an irredeemable condition.

How, under our present system, can the government ever redeem all outstanding bonds in gold, with only $3,700,000,000 of gold in circulation in the world? Its only apparent recourse is to refund the bonds when due, as has been done before, and make the rule of bondholders perpetual. Remonetize silver, and it will give the government the power of paying its obligations according to the letter of its contract, for silver will be recognized as COIN, and equal to gold at a ratio of 16 to 1. It will increase our circulating medium to about $40 per capita, stimulate business and advance prices and labor to a degree where demand will equal supply, and the theory of over-production will prove to have been under-consumption in fact.

The benefit of any reform should be measured by the opposition to it. Opposed to the remonetization of silver stand arrayed as a unit bankers, brokers and money lenders. If this class uphold the gold standard, it is from motives that are selfish, and not from the patriotic desire to see the common people prosper, and our country prosper with them. To remonetize silver would make it possible for the government to redeem its bonds, and eventually put out of existence the national banks as banks of issue, and would force the government to renew its functions in coining money for the benefit of the people, and not for the benefit of banks, which force the people to pay tribute for the privilege of putting into circulation the money necessary to commerce and exchange. This is, of course, against the bankers' law of self-preservation, which the common people, through ignorance and prejudice, have allowed to stand, and which will stand as long as bankers and stockholders in financial institutions—depending on the government for their existence—are in the majority in both houses of congress, and are successful in defeating every effort made to institute reform on financial questions, and see to it that every change will be to better their control of the circulating medium of our country.

To try and cover the question of the remonetization of silver in a limited article would be a futile effort. There are several specific arguments on this subject on which could be based an article, without drifting into a desultory discussion in an effort to bring together some of the main points. The production of and the cost of silver vs. gold, the "dumping ground" fallacy, and many others advanced by the gold standard men, could be discussed with benefit; and in all these subjects we (the 16 to 1 bimetalists) use logic in dissecting, until nothing more is necessary to prove we are right. We would welcome any challenge on this question, confident that we represent the principle of a just cause, and that it requires no extraordinary talent to do justice to a subject as simple as it is misunderstood.

Honest Elections.

BY FRANK A. MYERS.

The American ballot-box is raped perpetually by deception practiced on the voter, and so grave is this wrong that bribery is but an incident in comparison. The man with but limited facilities for learning is deceived as to the nature of the issues in the campaign, is hoodwinked into the belief that the opposing party is vilely, and innately, and hopelessly corrupt; is filled with stuff to the effect that the other party is lying about his party in order to mislead him, and, through tricks of falsehood, his emotions are aroused until he declares he will "vote 'er straight."

Such ballot-box crimes effectually defeat the will of the people, and defraud the voter himself of a fair expression of his honest views. Such base methods are rank treason against a representative form of government. Voting illegal voters, fraudulently counting votes that are illegal, throwing out honest ballots on some trivial technicality, are no more dangerous to the government than deceiving and angering the suffragist for the purpose of whipping him into party lines.

The remedy for this is not far to seek. It lies in education—education in special directions. If com-

pulsory education makes better citizens, then let it be compulsory education; but let the education offered be fully worth the pains of compelling the embryotic citizen to take it.

"A great mass of the poor people in this country are poor because they are overreached by those in better circumstances, because of superior judgment," says a writer in the daily press. "When a poor man has been so educated as to have the benefit of an enlightened judgment in the business affairs of life, he will be enabled to hold his own in transactions with his more prosperous neighbor. True, there are, and always have been, keen traders who, in the popular sense, were not educated, but this class is exceptional. The rule is that men become adepts in everything by training, and individual prosperity in money affairs in this country depends almost wholly upon the exercise of an enlightened understanding upon a few simple, fundamental questions. When and what to buy, when to sell, when to accept or refuse offers for service, are queries upon the answer to which hinges the financial and the consequential social welfare of the people."

To this relative observation must be added the perception of the current affairs of the world in relation to the business selected as a life pursuit. That is to say in brief, a man must know his business. And he must vote, as a liberal-minded benefactor, for the greatest good to the greatest number. We are social creatures by nature, and owe a thoughtful consideration to others around us. Therefore our vote must be a thoughtful one, and not an expression of our prejudices, as is too commonly the case.

James G. Blaine said in a speech once, that if the only purpose of parties, and the only aim of politics was the distribution of party patronage, it would not be worth the work of a single campaign to keep a party alive. Omitting the work, time and money contributed to party organization and compaigns for the gain of official patronage, the party contributors could much better afford to assess themselves and pay their candidates, as soon as elected, their salaries than to go through the confusion and worry of a canvass.

It is futile to rebuke political spoilsmen unless the spoils system is done away with, for what gain is there in exchanging one set of incompetent, inexperienced officials for another, or what profits it in transferring the government from one set of bosses to another? It is a debasing idea to make the possession and distribution of official patronage the central idea and chief end of politics. It is, hence, clearly perceptible that our office holders are not as bad as our office-holding system. The control and distribution of official patronage as rewards for personal political service is chiefly the corrupting influence in our political system, and the defeat of honest men at the polls. This is what generates bosses and nourishes them; bosses who are but pustules on the body politic, and who corrupt the whole system of elections.

Away with bosses and with place hunters! Let every one vote always for the *man* and for *principle*.

Economic Fallacies—That a National Debt is a National Blessing.

BY WILLIAM H. JOHNSON.

One often meets prosperous optimists who enthusiastically refer to the public debt as if it were a source of wealth. That it is better than a gold mine, since it needs no working, to a certain class, will not be disputed. What it is to the mass of the people let us now briefly inquire.

The first question with regard to a public debt is a moral one. Has a government a right to lay a burden on future generations? Can the people who are living to-day bind the people who will be living fifty years hence? For answer, let us take the following case: Under what conditions is a man justified in charging his estate with a debt which his children must pay? Without hesitation we answer: Only when the consideration of the debt is something which enures to the permanent advantage of the children. There must be an equivalent rendered to them for the outlay which they are required to make. A man who, simply by his improvidence or viciousness, bequeaths a burden to the next generation of his family, receives our unqualified condemnation. Precisely the same principle is applicable to a people acting through its representatives, or misrepresentatives, as is most commonly the case,—the government. The simple question is, Is the object, for which it is proposed to create a public debt, of such a kind as will secure some permanent and adequate advantage to those who, in years to come, will have the burden to bear? Judged by this standard, the public debts of modern nations stand, in the great majority of cases, condemned. Where one dollar represents legitimate outlay for the people's good, in roads, canals, or other improvements, hundreds of dollars are the legacy left by unjust wars—wars entered into without the people's choice or concurrence, enormously expensive military establishments in time of peace, and the like things. That a despotic government should mortgage the industry of its people for generations to come to pay the expense, among other things, of keeping the people in subjection, need not surprise us. National debts are, therefore, justly in bad odor.

Let us, however, suppose the moral question satisfactorily settled in any given case. Then arises one of expediency. Is it wise to create a public debt? A war, let us say, is imminent. Two methods are available for meeting its extraordinary expenditures. The one is by taxation, taking the means directly from the people and meeting expenses as fast as they are incurred. The other is by a loan, which is speciously represented as making the immediate burdens of the people lighter and distributing the weight over many years to come. Against the first it is commonly argued that the measure would be too drastic and would impose great hardships upon the people, and would render the war so unpopular, if anything like a free expression of opinion exists, that it would be impossible to carry it on. To this the reply is pertinent: The kind of

patriotism that is dependent on the delusion that the country is prosperous, whereas, in fact, it is constantly destroying wealth in enormous quantities, is not of the staying kind. The civic virtue that sends a substitute to the front while it fights the country's battles in talk; that buys government bonds with tremendously depreciated paper, and holds them to be paid in gold; that enriches itself from the proceeds of fat contracts to supply "our brave soldier boys" with shoes, clothes and blankets—*that* kind of patriotism can well be dispensed with. Public spirit that pays well is of doubtful advantage to the community. The test of true patriotism is to be ready and willing to endure hardships and privations, and yet not flinch from the task which it has undertaken. That spirit is tried by taxation. If a people will not stand it, there could be no better evidence that they do not really want the war. The resort to a loan is, therefore, under a representative form of government, commonly a sign of weakness. It means the fear of the administration to make itself unpopular. Therefore, the government adopts a procedure which seems to relegate to a future time the burden of the war expenditure. In point of fact, it does nothing of the kind.

It is a delusion to suppose that a national debt lays no heavier immediate burden than the payment of interest. On this point I can not do better than to quote John Stuart Mill. He says: "The privation which it is supposed must result from taking the amount in the shape of taxes is not avoided by taking it in a loan. The suffering is not averted, but only thrown upon the laboring classes, the least able, and who least ought to bear it, while all the inconveniences, physical, moral and political, produced by maintaining taxes for the perpetual payment of the interest are incurred in pure loss. Whenever capital is withdrawn from production, or from the fund destined for production, to be lent to the state and expended unproductively, that whole sum is withheld from the laboring classes. The loan, therefore, is in truth paid off the same year. The whole of the sacrifice necessary for paying it off is actually made; only it is paid to the wrong persons, and therefore does not extinguish the claim; and paid by the very worst of taxes, a tax exclusively on the laboring class. And, after having, in this most painful and unjust of ways, gone through the whole effort necessary for extinguishing the debt, the country remains charged with it and with the payment of its interest in perpetuity."

The difference is this: When a government takes the whole cost of any extraordinary expenditure, such as that of war, outright by taxation, *it is taken out of income*, and, necessarily, *from those chiefly who have the most of income*. When the cost is met by a loan it comes out of capital, which causes immediate hardship to the working classes, whom the capital would have employed productively; and, in addition, there is a heavy burden laid upon labor perpetually in providing the interest on the debt. In other words, the capitalist simply *lends* his money to the government instead of yielding it up outright; and his patriotism proves a most profitable investment for himself and his posterity. It has been demonstrated that the entire cost of our civil war might have been met by taxation. By the plan actually pursued the country was charged with an enormous debt; and to that source may be traced the greater part of the social evils under which it has since labored. The accumulation of colossal fortunes began at that time, and the evil tendency has been fostered by the agencies thus brought into being.

A national debt exploits the laboring classes for the benefit of the moneyed classes, to whom it affords a splendid investment. It is an engine of oppression, of the same cunning kind as indirect taxation, which steadily robs labor, mostly without its knowledge. It creates a perpetual lien upon the productive industry of the country in favor of those whom it enables to live in idleness.

Oligarchial Government and Its Remedy.

BY JOSE GROS.

We boast of our wealth and inventions, our large cities and immense national domain, yet Alexander the Great promenaded 2,000 years ago through 4,000 square miles of the Persian empire with an army of 40,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry without the need of waiting anywhere for accumulation of the wants of such an army in its line of march. Evidently that army found everywhere an abundance of products with which to be fed and clothed.

From the above we can conclude that the Persia of that period was enjoying a far more solid prosperity than our own nation to-day and for a number of years back. Could an army of 50,000 men go through our own nation, fighting other armies, and yet find everywhere an abundance of resources?

The writer lives in one of the richest towns in the country, with over 10,000 population, in the wealthiest section to be found north, south or west, yet we could not furnish any 2,000 men, for more than five days, with what they would need, if they came all at once upon us, much less if previous armies, on the march had, in time of war, drawn upon our usual resources.

The Persia of that period had, no doubt, its internal troubles, but its troubles could hardly be greater than ours, and, if anything, the general poverty of the nation could not be quite as great as ours to-day.

Persia was cursed with about forty satraps, governors of provinces, pretty wealthy perhaps. We have 500 men who could buy the wealth of those satraps and remain with wealth enough to buy 1,000 more of them. We don't know that Persia was cursed by millions of beings suffering because no work was to be found by quantities of male adults, but we do know that that is our great curse, the greatest any nation can have. The fact of strong men, anxious to have work and finding it not, can only be the product of the vilest oligarchy that is possible for nations to evolve. Because that alone implies miserable wages

among the many who are yet at work, or a large portion of them.

We could, no doubt, retain a certain degree of prosperity among the workers, if, like Persia, we had but forty satraps with about two or three millions of dollars each. Unfortunately we have several thousand satraps, worth from two and three millions up to fifty, 100 and 150 millions. That is a little too much, even for our great American nation. But what are we going to do about it? I know what we could do, and that it could be rapidly done, too.

I have said that ours is the vilest oligarchy that has ever been evolved. History seems to prove that, as has been indicated. We give the ballot to our male adults, but what kind of ballot do we give? What does it amount to? It only amounts to the negative fact that through our ballot we give to a few legislators the power to fix the conditions on which the bulk of the workingmen shall go through life with hard work and poor pay. Hence our strikes and labor troubles.

No ballot can, in the end, amount to anything which does not give to the voter the power to directly influence legislation. That alone can suppress the political and economic monopolies from which we are suffering, and hence that oligarchy of ours, which plays with the popular will as the cat plays with the mouse.

We need a political party which, instead of marching to the polls with a long platform that our legislative bodies may overrule and trample upon, marches to the polls with a few specific bills resting on some of the most vital natural rights of men, such bills to become laws when a majority of our voters have backbone enough to vote for that. As long as we fail to do that we deserve all the poverty that our oligarchy may see fit to impose upon our dear American people.

What the Referendum Will Do.

[From the Loyal American.]

It will simplify laws.
It will purify the ballot.
It will control monopoly.
It will supplant violence.
It will broaden manhood.
It will prevent revolution.
It will make people think.
It will accelerate progress.
It will banish sectionalism.
It will sever party bondage.
It will simplify government.
It will reduce taxation to necessity.
It will wipe out plutocratic dictation.
It will prevent the bribery of our law-makers.
It will establish home rule in all municipalities.
It will restore to the people their natural rights.
It will aid honest representatives in serving the people.

It will give us a government by the people for the people, whose corner stone is equal and exact justice to all.

Labor Legislation (?)

BY FRANK VALESH.

The newspapers recently published the fact that the supreme court of Illinois had declared unconstitutional the eight-hour law so far as it relates to the employment of adult women. The court gave its approval to that part of the law relating to children; and this, we are told, is the only law receiving even a partial indorsement from the highest judicial tribunal in that state. And that, too, after thirty years of agitation for labor laws. A parallel to this experience may be found in nearly every other state in the Union. Yet, despite all such reverses the labor movement remains a living entity and labor organizations continue to work out the problem which called them into existence. Experiences like that in Illinois simply demonstrate, however, how limited is the practical good that trade unions attain through legislation. With the exception of extending or defining the police powers of the state there has been but little accomplished by legislation which could not have been attained through other and more direct channels and with greater corresponding benefit to the labor people.

It is also a significant fact that much of the sentimental legislation passed in the name of labor has either failed to accomplish its object, or has, in fact, been used to the detriment of labor unions. The most notable example we have of this class of laws is the United States "anti-trust act," passed in 1890. In its opening sentence it declares that every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce is made illegal. How good that opening sentence sounded, and what grand results were expected therefrom, to check the rapacity of trusts. Yet the law slumbered for three long years and then its machinery was put in motion. Was it against a trust? No; against a labor union in New Orleans, where Judge Billings granted a restraining injunction against the draymen and other unions on strike. On four other occasions has the anti-trust law been put in operation. In three of these the labor unions were enjoined from striking, the latest being the A. R. U. strikers in Chicago. Even in the Georgia case, where Judge Speer recognized the right of workmen to make contracts in regard to wages, etc., it was held that a rule of the B. of L. E. in regard to strikes "is plainly a rule or agreement in restraint of trade," and that it violates the anti-trust law (55 Fed. Rep., 149).

The interstate commerce act is another law of this character. The labor people, especially in the West, sent congress innumerable petitions and resolutions urging its passage. And after being a law for several years it is best known for the Toledo and Ann Arbor decision—directed against a striking labor organization. It is also remarkable for the very limited sense in which it controls the railroads against whom it was solely directed.

There is another sort of law almost equally illusive and ephemeral, to which labor unions often give their

support. In this class, broadly speaking, may be placed anti-blacklist, anti-ironclad, anti-truck, and, of recent years, compulsory arbitration laws. These are mainly attempts to compel the employer to do something, either directly or by negation, which a union fails to accomplish owing to its lack of numbers or the indifference of the general public to its wants. Trade unions ought not to give a great deal of countenance to laws of this nature. Their time, money and influence ought not to be diverted from the legitimate and natural channels in the direction of legislative bogs, where, as we have seen, they become so frequently mired. What trade unions cannot obtain through organization and discipline of their members and education of public opinion they cannot force upon the public by statute law. Take for example the experience with "anti-truck" laws, which were all praiseworthy efforts. In nearly every instance after the unions had spent months in agitation and drained their treasuries, the courts declared such laws inoperative and unconstitutional. "They violate the freedom of contract;" or, "interfere with the employer's business."

We do not hear nowadays that the cigarmakers unions are asking for the passage of anti-truck laws. Yet fifteen years ago there was hardly a town in the country where the cigarmakers did not receive their scanty wages in the most conglomerated kind of truck. When the cigarmakers union attained its present standard the truck system disappeared without legislation, and there is no case on record where its disappearance caused a violation of the "freedom of contract or interfered with the employer's business."

To show that it is the repeal of bad laws that we want rather than the enactment of new ones I will cite a recent case. The trade unions have received a most gratifying concession from congress in the passage of the sailors bill, through the efforts of the A. F. of L. This was but the repeal of an old law that was exceedingly oppressive to a large number of American workmen, but the public did not recognize its injustice until the sailors formed a trade union.

There is another serious aspect to this question. So far as the labor problem is subject to interpretation by courts, it is evident that industrial jurisprudence is but in its infancy. The decisions already made and the reasons for them are very conflicting. A law at best stands but for the present conception of what is right to do or not to do. This standard, as experience teaches, changes. The courts of last resort in the several states are piling up almost an hundred volumes of decisions annually. These decisions will in a large measure bind and hamper future generations. Two illustrations will show what confusions already exist. A court in Pennsylvania holds that a trade union is a combination to control by artificial means the supply of labor, and consequently is unlawful (Cote vs. Murphy, 28 Atl. Rep., 190). In Minnesota the court declares that any man, unless bound by a previous contract, has a right to refuse work for any man or class of men he sees fit (Bohn Mfg. Co. vs. Hollister, N. W. Rep., 1119).

It is clearly the duty of trade unions not to add to this confusion by asking for the passage of laws every time some abuse or injustice, whether real or apparent, is discovered. The danger of hasty legislation is shown by the fact that a well meaning legislator recently framed an anti-blacklist law which in the shape it was drawn would have been a most effective anti-conspiracy law. It might have been used to destroy labor organizations. Yet the intent was to serve labor. The careless phraseology made it dangerous. What the trade unions want is not more laws but more freedom and a better conception of their rights. I do not mean to disparage the efforts for child labor, factory and mine inspection, sanitary, prison reform and similar laws. These come under the class referred to at the beginning of this paper; and yet, even such laws are much more readily enforced if trade unions have aroused public opinion in their behalf. During the recent legislative session in the several states there have been more so-called labor measures introduced and doubtless more will become laws than any preceding year, yet trade unions will be just as necessary and the industrial struggle fully as intense as if these, in most cases commendable efforts, had not been made.

Let organizations rather than legislation be the watchword of the trade unions.

In the Vicinity of Fanuell Hall.

The following resolutions were adopted by Boston Central Labor Union. They have a national bearing, hence we publish them:

"WHEREAS, There is a growing desire in certain quarters to strain public tranquility by whispering insinuations of distrust as to the aims and objects of the labor organizations, for the purpose of securing in the near future some form of military ascendency, with a bayonet in the hands of every policeman and a Gatling gun in every station house, as expressed recently at the state house by General Martin; and,

"WHEREAS, We regard such incendiary attempts to intensify class hatred through the medium of wild, exaggerated dreams of idle soldiers in quest of distinction, dangerous alike to the peace of the commonwealth and perpetuity of the republic.

"*Resolved*, That inasmuch as the mission of organized labor is to raise itself from the slough of present industrial oppression to more acceptable conditions by bold, plain spoken, yet constitutional agitation, we desire to enter our indignant protest against the intemperate language attributed to General Martin, of the police commission.

"*Resolved*, That while General Martin may be a most available officer in time of war, now that we are not threatened by either revolution or invasion, we feel satisfied that his relegation to private life would secure to him more honorable distinction and approbation for whatever mental and manly qualities he may possess than he could hope to attain through the further enjoyment of the powers conveyed to him as a police commissioner.

"*Resolved*. That we consider any person subject to such hallucinations and inflamatory declarations, having a voice in the manipulation of the police force, as not the proper man in a very proper place."

American Federationist

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DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS AND VOICING THE DEMANDS OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

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AFTER reading the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST pass it to a friend.

THE new government bonds which were sold recently by Grover Cleveland on a basis of 104½ to the foreign banking house of which the Rothschilds are operators, are now being sold in New York city as fast as they are offered at 120½. The Cleveland-Rothschild syndicate is said to have scooped in about $13,000,000 on that deal. No one would be mean enough to say there is any "innocuous desuetude" about this important stroke of foreign policy. There need be no wonder now that congress refused to ratify the bond sale or give its sanction to the gold plank of that monstrous measure.

RIPE FOR ACTION.

NEVER in the history of trade unions has there been a time more ripe for a thorough organization of all classes of wage earners than the present. The past is gone and can not be recalled, except as an occasional reference to guide us in making calculations for the future. The experimental stage is past and the trade unions emerged from the ordeal in such satisfactory manner that even their most ardent advocates are surprised at how well they stood the test. The depression from which we are emerging—for prospects point everywhere that better times are at hand—harrowed men's souls and put their unionism on trial. On every side the employers and middle men tried to drag down wages and increase hours of labor "in order to cheapen the manufactured article," they said, and wherever organization was weak they were in part successful. On the other hand, where organization was strong the manufacturers' economics were shown to be idle vaperings, and were unceremoniously thrown into the waste basket. It is an ill wind that blows no good; the depression has caused men to think who never did much in that line before; it caused them to reason, one with the other, as to the righteousness or villainy of the causes which thrust the depression on us, and each in his own manner sees some way in the future to prevent such a catastrophe from again causing such widespread hardship and misery. Our free silver friends have a remedy, and the more it is spoken of the more friends it begets, which is indeed a healthy provision. Robert Ingersoll *prophecied* a few days ago that the next nominees for president of the United States would be free silver men, and that no single standard advocate could be elected, and those who know Ingersoll best say he is good authority on things concerning *terra firma* and whatever appertains thereto. Our socialistic friends have a remedy, and to all appearances it also is making rapid headway. A few years ago a socialist was pictured after the fashion of a savage aborigine, but now he is a mighty big factor in our social make-up. He has got his whiskers trimmed and a modern cutaway takes the place of his unshapely jerkin. He says what he listeth and finds large audiences to say it to. He is a hustler, a reasoner, and has come to stay as part of our political arena. We have other friends of a *philosophical* tendency, who have followed many "isms," but have got the right one at last. They are brainy men and usually know their subject. They have been reading and comparing notes, and are only waiting for the balance of mankind to come up to their standard and the question will settle itself in the one word FREEDOM.

We might continue the procession, but it

would not enhance our point, so we will drop back to first principles.

These three "isms" are to-day children of the labor movement, and have in great part assumed their magnitude owing to the periodical visitation of depression and want. The disciples of each belief recognize the potency of organization as necessary to the utility of their principle, for it is through organization and collective thought that they and their friends have reached their mental altitude. The question now is, how are they to get their fellow-men up to their level? Can it be done by dropping the rank and file and trimming their sails for another altitude? We think not, but it may be done by our friends holding to what they have acquired with one hand and with the other joining the rank and file, and by utilizing that persistent will with which the friends of one "ism" sometimes oppose the advocates of the other "ism" rally the unorganized and get them on the high road to prosperity. There is no theory about this proposition, it is a practical solution. Neither is it experimental, for it has been shown that the experimental stage has been passed. With dull times the cigar makers increased their membership, last year, by over a thousand members. How was it done? Not by theorizing upon what *might be*, but by an efficient corps of practical organizers who knew where to begin their work and started at the correct point. Dr. Livingstone, in trying to Christianize the African negroes soon found that long sermons and earnest prayers were of no avail unless he first set in to civilize them, and this he commenced to do by sending to his native country for spoons, and commenced the work of civilization by learning his audiences to eat their food with spoons instead of conveying it to their mouths in the palms of their hands. He thus formed an objective point from which he knew he could prepare for civilization.

Organization therefore must be the objective point for all shades of "isms" in the immediate future. This is the subject on which all must agree. The capitalistic classes are scared of their pilfering and grabbing habits now, owing to the fact that the toilers are *thinking*, and if a concentrated effort is made all along the line to get the unorganized into their respective crafts, the above mentioned scare will develop into a better understanding by which he who produces will receive more and more the fruits of his labor until he can and will demand its full value as being his.

Organize all along the line is the toilers shibboleth for this year, and should be kept up unrelentingly until all crafts are economically in a position to grapple with the social question.

The vanguard of trade unionism has recently been attacked from all sides. Gigantic railroad syndicates, municipal, state and federal governments have all had their innings by using injunctions, ordinances, laws and the federal courts. The attorney general has applied the anti-trust law and other schemes, while the *stuffed prophet* has had his guns out and scrupled not to use them. What is the result? The attitude of the railroad syndicate has now made possible government ownership of the railroads. Municipal defection has caused the governed to look for other kinds of aldermen, and state legislatures will hereafter be composed of men more in touch with Tom, Dick and Harry. New judges are being demanded everywhere. Puritanical Olney has decided that it is not the business of the federal government to interfere in state affairs until the state has utilized its resources, and even the president has ceased cannonading and has gone into the bond brokerage business, on Lombard street, London, and duck shooting on the lower Chesapeake. Yet trade unionism lives and a direct question will receive the pointed answer that the union man has a more formidable antagonist in the non-union man than in any or all of these other forces. The weapons to remedy this are Webster's dictionary and the compulsory education law on another page of this issue. The work is pleasant and can be well pushed if all work together and give organization of the masses, through these two agencies, their undivided support. Organization is ripe for action, and the A. F. of L. "expects that every man, this *year*, will do his duty."

BURNS MISCALCULATES.

THE short comings of the labor movement in the United States are known to no persons better than to the thinkers, organizers and leaders of the movement in America. They unflinchingly write, work and agitate for better conditions, are glad at any time to receive assistance and show due appreciation to whatever source from which the aid emanates. That our condition at present, emerging, as we are, from a tidal wave of unprecedented depression, is satisfactory, no one will aver; that we will take precept from any source worthy of emulation, all will admit; that the visit of John Burns, last December, helped the work of organization, we readily concede; but that the United States, of all places on the face of the earth, is most in need of outside assistance, is a statement that can not be taken as final without due consideration. Yet that is practically what Mr. Burns said of us in an interview, after his return to merry England.

Here is a paragraph quoted from the above

mentioned interview, and which paper was forwarded from London to this office by himself:

"And, in spite of it all [meaning his criticisms], they have asked you to come again?"

"Yes, next autumn. And, if I can get away, I shall go there. For nowhere in the world is there more need of an Englishman's helping hand, or more gratitude to him who gives it. Helping lame dogs over the stile is the best of friendship, even though other curs should bark."

In early life, being schooled in a somewhat puritanical community, we were often reminded that the best way to see a mote in our neighbor's eye was to first get the beam out of our own, and in no instance since then does this lesson seem to fit in with such well-jointed neatness as to this declaration of Bro. Burns. The word "Englishman" conveys the idea that nowhere in that marvellous country do such conditions obtain as are found here. Bro. Burns must have forgot all about the "black country" in the north of England, where the chains that go to help make England's greatness are welded by the husband and wife working at one forge; where the cry or laughter of a suckling babe laid in a rude and sooty hammock, near to the anvil, makes a sorrowful discord to the ring, ding-dong of the sledge hammer, as the mother, bare to the waist, swings it as her husband directs, so that between them they may earn a pittance to sustain life and contribute to England's greatness. If our fraternal delegates to the Cardiff convention can say or do anything during their sojourn in old England to help the wife-mothers of the "black district," their visit will not have been in vain, even if they accomplish nothing else; but in the name of fairness and justice it is to be hoped they will not fall into Bro. Burns' mistake of creating an impression of their country that does not exist. Had John Burns thought of his kinsman's (Robert Burns) remark:

"O would some power the giftie gi' us
To see ourselves as others see us,"

he would not have been so pronounced in his declaration.

It is very gratifying to reformers in the western continent to know that Mr. Burns is so well thought of in London that steamboats and streets are being named after him in compliment of his good work; yet there is no denying the fact that if he could assist in some degree in alleviating the social standing of his fellow beings in the district referred to, before visiting us again, his "helping hand" would receive a more fraternal grasp when he arrives than even was accorded him when he first set foot on American soil.

THE officers of the Bakers' National Union in New York state are meeting with great success in pushing their bill through the state legislature for the "regulation and manufacture of food products." The purport of the bill is to guarantee fair sanitary conditions in and adjacent to all bake shops. It is expected that the bill will pass and be signed by the governor. During its probationary career in the senate the following letter was sent to the president of that body and to Governor Morton urging them to favor the bill:

HEADQUARTERS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

DEAR SIR—We are informed that the "act to regulate the manufacture of food products" in New York state, and known as assembly bill No. 761, has been passed by the assembly and is now under consideration in the senate.

Permit me, in the name of the American Federation of Labor, to request you to give this act your kindly consideration and support. It is a meritorious reform, favorably affecting, not only the men employed in the bake shops, but the health of the community at large. All organized labor in New York state is awaiting your favorable action on this bill; nor is such anxiety confined to the labor organizations alone, for the great middle class—composing nearly the entire population—is aroused to the necessity for enactment of this measure into law.

The very unsavory conditions under which many food products are manufactured at the present time, and which have been vividly brought to your attention by statisticians and others, render almost imperative the adoption of stringent laws on this important subject.

Assembly Bill No. 761 provides for fair sanitary conditions, and if passed and signed will be the means of not only removing hundreds of existing nuisances in and adjacent to bake shops, but prevent the future augmentation of that disease-spreading system.

Again requesting you in the name of the masses to take a favorable view of this most important measure, I have the honor to be yours, etc.

MARCH 9, the date on which Bro. Chris Evans severed his connection with the A. F. of L. office, was made the occasion of presenting to him, in engrossed form, the resolutions passed by the Denver convention. Subsequently they were forwarded to his home, in consequence of which the following has been received:

NELSONVILLE, O., March 25, 1895.

Mr. Aug. McCraith, Secretary American Federation of Labor, De Soto Block, Indianapolis, Ind.:

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER—The resolutions engrossed and framed that were adopted at the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor and ordered presented to me on my retiring from the secretaryship, have been duly received. In accepting the honored gift, I beg to return my sincere thanks, and to say through you, that my appreciation of the kind words expressed can only be equalled by my desire to cherish and treasure them in the days to come as the greatest compliment that my coworkers could have bestowed upon me for services rendered in labor's cause.

To feel that I have the confidence and esteem of those who have had an opportunity to work with me in the years gone by, is very gratifying, and carries with it a consoling influence that gives ample reward for all work done.

With kindest wishes for the continued success of the movement and a prosperous future for the new administration, I am, very truly yours, CHRIS EVANS.

VROOMAN'S NEW BOOK.

To such of our readers as are interested in or who desire to know something of "Government Ownership," a few snap shots from Rev. Walter Vrooman's new book on that subject will be of great value. He describes it as "*being an account of 337 now existing national and municipal undertakings in the 100 principal countries in the world.*" The book is very largely statistical, and displays great care in compilation as well as in general information.

Mr. Vrooman is a brilliant young American of an old and honorable family in western New York. He has the benefit of a good education, and having lived for some time in Kansas, is possessed of that ready wit and lack of conventionality which makes our typical western people so pleasing in conversation and so apt at retort. Mr. Vrooman pays his compliments to our English friends by quoting an interview he had with an official of the British consular staff in this country, whom he visited to secure data for the chapter on Great Britain in his book. He asked the official for information on socialized businesses in his country, and was told in reply: "My dear sir, we have none. H'individualism is the basis of our h'institutions." The writer adds:

"While this representative of the British government was thus assuring me that in 'H'ingland' all business was conducted by 'h'individuals,' I had in my pocket a list of 269 enterprises that in his country are owned and operated by the government, and the list was still incomplete."

Mr. Vrooman makes a hit in summing up his preface by quoting a paragraph from Mr. Sydney Webb's "Socialism in England," which shows in terse language how people believe in and enjoy socialistic surroundings, unless when such surroundings are called by that name. The paragraph in question says:

"The 'practical man,' oblivious or contemptuous of any theory of the social organism or general principles of social organization, has been forced by the necessities of time into an ever deepening collectivist channel. Socialism, of course, he rejects and despises. The individualist city councillor will walk along the municipal pavement, lit by municipal gas and cleaned by municipal brooms, with municipal water, and seeing by the municipal clock in the municipal market that he is too early to meet his children coming from the municipal school, hard by the county lunatic asylum and municipal hospital, will use the national telegraph system to tell them not to walk through the municipal park, but to come by the municipal tramway, to meet him in the municipal reading room, by the municipal art gallery, museum and library, where he intends to consult some of the national publications, in order to prepare his next speech in the municipal town-hall, in favor of the nationalization of canals and the increase of the government control over the railway system. 'Socialism, sir,' he will say, 'don't waste the time of a practical man by your fantastic absurdities. Self-help, sir, individual self-help, that's what's made our city what it is.'" (!!)

The subject matter of the book is explained in an introductory which, in opening, reads:

The purpose of this book is to combat the principle of paternal government and to prove that the tendency of society in both civilized and uncivilized countries is toward fraternal government. Progress consists in rescuing human affairs from the domain of chance and making them subservient to law. When in primitive times, the strong man with a club, who has used it too freely upon his fellows, is overcome by the many weaker members of his tribe, then, the general interests begin their long conflict against unrestrained individual caprice. The history of this struggle is the history of the development of civilization.

Without going into detail on the value of this publication, suffice it to say, that an average idea of the places mentioned and manner of treatment is here furnished by quoting the very interesting report on

ICELAND.

Area, 39,756 square miles. Population, 70,927 in 1892. Iceland furnishes another social surprise. Here is a land crossed by the Arctic Circle, which has its own constitution and a representative government. (See charter of August 1, 1874.) At the head of the administration is a minister nominated by the king of Denmark. Besides him, the people elect a governor as their highest local authority. There are two *amtmands*, or vice-governors, for the west and north of Iceland. The althing (or parliament) has thirty-six members, six of whom are nominated by the king of Denmark and thirty elected by popular suffrage. The suffrage is universal, both men and women participating.

There is not an illiterate person on the island above seven years old. Teaching is done very largely at home, although there are primary schools in the various villages, some high schools, two colleges, one medical, one theological, one agricultural, and one nautical. Children of twelve know Latin, the language in which their ancient literature was written. The people are plain, chaste, temperate, intelligent. There are no police, because there are no thieves. There is only one jail, but at last report there had been nobody in it for seven years. There are no poor houses, because there are no paupers; or, perhaps better, because there are no plutocrats to make paupers. There is an universal spirit of hospitality, and a remarkable disposition toward co-operation.

The book is neatly published and bound by the Patriotic Literature Publishing Co., 108 East Franklin street, Baltimore, Md., costs $1.00, and is worth many times the price, and, in its title page, shows the reverend writer's good sense by being ornamented by the union label of the I. T. U.

THE cheering news comes from Hot Springs, Ark., that President McBride is improving under the medical attention he is receiving. His ailment being severe, it takes time to restore him to his old-time vigor, but his doctor is authority for the statement that he is progressing as favorably as could be expected from his debilitated condition when arriving there.

EVERY member of a labor organization should be a subscriber to the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

POLITICAL DECLARATIONS OF THE A. F. OF L. AT DENVER, COL.

1. Compulsory education.
2. Direct legislation, through the initiative and the referendum.
3. A legal work day of not more than eight hours.
4. Sanitary inspection of workshop, mine and home.
5. Liability of employers for injury to health, body or life.
6. The abolition of contract system in all public work.
7. The abolition of the sweating system.
8. The municipal ownership of street cars, water works and gas and electric plants for public distribution of light, heat and power.
9. The nationalization of telegraphs, telephones, railroads and mines.
10. The abolition of the monopoly system of land holding, and substituting therefor a title of occupancy and use only.
11. Repeal all conspiracy and penal laws, affecting seamen and other workmen, incorporated in the federal and State laws of the United States.
12. The abolition of the monopoly privilege of issuing money and substituting therefor a system of direct issuance to and by the people.

HOW TO FORM A TRADE UNION OR A FEDERAL LABOR UNION.

First—Unions may be formed of persons working at any trade or calling, or they may be composed of persons working at different or varied callings. The latter are called "Federal Labor Unions," and are of infinite value in such places where there are too few persons employed to form separate unions of each trade.

Second—Any person who desires to organize a Union of any trade will, by application to this office, be informed of the address of the chief officer of that trade; but should there be no general Union of that trade or calling, or should it be the intention to form a Federal Labor Union, he will be furnished with all necessary documents and information free of charge

Third—Any seven wage-workers of one trade of good character, and favorable to trade unions, and not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body, to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trades Union movement, and shall have the power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation, *provided the request for a certificate be endorsed by the nearest Local or National Trades Union officials connected with this Federation.*

Fourth—To organize: Call a meeting and read the printed appeal (furnished on application), also these instructions Proceed at once to elect officers. Apply to the President of the American Federation of Labor for a Certificate of Affiliation and enclose $5.00 for the necessary fee, which will be returned, in full, if the application be refused. Send the fee by Postoffice Money Order. Send also a list of names and residences of the seven Charter Members of your Union.

Fifth—With the Certificate of Affiliation a full working outfit for the new Union will be furnished, entitling its members to all the rights and privileges, and the Union to a voice and vote in the Annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sixth—Every Union has full charge of its own funds, and is only required to pay to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a *per capita* tax of one cent per month per member in good standing.

Compulsory Education.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Convention that the compulsory education law should be strictly enforced in every State in the Union, and wherever there is no such law measures to secure its enactment should be put forth at once.—*A. F. of L. Denver Convention.*

In accordance with the above resolution affiliated and friendly organizations are hereby requested to give whatever assistance they possibly can to the enforcement of this law in States where it now exists. Also to endeavor by joint action to secure the introduction and enactment of such a law in States where it does not exist.

To have it acted upon in a similar manner, in the various States where no compulsory education law has been passed, and to facilitate this important reform, the several existing laws have been examined and the one apparently best fitted for general adoption is that now in use in Massachusetts and which is here given in full.

Organizations taking the matter up can, from this publication, easily have an act prepared and presented to their respective legislatures when they meet, and in the meantime ample opportunity is offered to interview prospective legislators as to their standing on this question so that those opposed can be pointed out as enemies to education. Following is the text of the bill:

AN ACT RELATIVE TO THE ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN IN THE SCHOOLS.

SECTION 1. Every person having under his control a child between the ages of eight and fourteen years, and in every city and town where opportunity is furnished, in connection with the regular work of the public schools, for gratuitous instruction in the use of tools or in manual training, or for industrial education in any form, a child between the ages of eight and fifteen years, shall annually cause such child to attend some public day school in the city or town in which he resides, and such attendance shall continue for at least thirty weeks of the school year, if the schools are kept open for that length of time, with an allowance of two weeks' time for absences not excused by the superintendent of schools or the school committee. Such period of attendance shall begin within the first month of the fall term of school, and for each five days' absence of any such child thereafter, in excess of the above allowance, before the completion of the required annual attendance of thirty weeks, the person having such child under his control shall, upon the complaint of the school committee or any truant officer, forfeit to the use of the public schools of such city or town a sum not exceeding twenty dollars, but if such child has attended for a like period of time a private day school approved by the school committee of such city or town, or if such child has been otherwise instructed for a like period of time in the branches of learning required by law to be taught in the public schools, or has already acquired the branches of learning required by law to be taught in the public schools, or if his physical or mental condition is such as to render such attendance inexpedient or impracticable, such penalties shall not be incurred.

SECT. 2. For the purposes of the preceding section school committees shall approve a private school only when the teaching in all the studies required by law is in the English language, and when they are satisfied that such teaching equals in thoroughness and efficiency the teaching in the public schools in the same locality, and that equal progress is made by the pupils therein, in the studies required by law, with that made during the same time in the public schools; but they shall not refuse to approve a private school on account of the religious teachings therein.

SECT. 3. The truant officers and the school committee of the several cities and towns shall vigilantly inquire into all cases of neglect of the duty prescribed in section one, and ascertain the reasons, if any, therefor; and such truant officers or any of them, shall, when so directed by the school committee, prosecute in the name of the city or town any person liable to the penalty provided for in said section. Police, district and municipal courts, trial justices and judges of the probate court, shall have jurisdiction within their respective counties of the offences described in section one.

SECT. 4. All children within the Commonwealth may attend the public schools in the place in which they have their legal residence, subject to the regulations prescribed by law.

SECT. 5. The school committee shall determine the number and qualifications of the scholars to be admitted to the high school.

SECT. 6. Children living remote from any public school in the town in which they reside may be allowed to attend the public schools in any adjoining town under such regulations and on such terms as the school committee of the said towns agree upon and prescribe; and the school committee of the town in which such children reside shall pay the sum agreed upon out of the appropriations of money raised in said towns for the support of schools.

SECT. 7. Any minor under guardianship, whose father has

died, may attend the public schools of the city or town of which his guardian is an inhabitant.

SECT. 8. Children may, with the consent of the school committee first obtained, attend schools in cities and towns other than those in which their parents or guardians reside; but when a child resides in a city or town different from that of the residence of the parent or guardian, for the sole purpose of attending school there, the parent or guardian of such child shall be liable to pay such city or town for tuition, a sum equal to the average expense per scholar for the period during which the child so attends.

SECT. 9. The school committee shall not allow a child who has not been duly vaccinated to be admitted to or connected with the public schools.

SECT. 10. The school committee shall not allow any pupil to attend the public schools while any member of the household to which such pupil belongs is sick of small-pox, diphtheria or scarlet fever, or during a period of two weeks after the death, recovery or removal of such sick person; and any pupil coming from such household shall be required to present, to the teacher of the school the pupil desires to attend, a certificate, from the attending physician or board of health, of the facts necessary to entitle him to admission in accordance with the above regulation.

SECT. 11. No person shall be excluded from a public school on account of the race, color, or religious opinion of the applicant or scholar.

SECT. 12. Every member of the school committee under whose direction a child is excluded from the public school, and every teacher of such school from which a child is excluded, shall, on application by the parent or guardian of such child, state in writing the grounds and reason of the exclusion.

SECT. 13. A child unlawfully excluded from a public school may recover damages therefor in an action of tort, to be brought in the name of such child by his guardian or next friend, against the city or town by which such school is supported.

SECT. 14. The plaintiff in such action may, by filing interrogatories for discovery, examine any member of the school committee, or any other officer of the defendant city or town, as if he were a party to the suit.

SECT. 15. Whenever a truant school has been established for any county it shall be the place of confinement, discipline and instruction for all truants within the cities or towns of said county, unless said cities or towns have made other provision therefor; and police, district or municipal courts, trial justices and probate courts, shall have jurisdiction within their respective counties of the offences described in sections nineteen and twenty-one of this act; and may commit truants to such truant school or union truant school as may be established for their respective counties under the provisions of this act.

SECT. 16. If three or more towns in any county so require, the county commissioners shall establish at the expense of the county, at a convenient place therein, other than the jail or house of correction, a truant school for the confinement, discipline and instruction of minor children convicted under the provisions of sections nineteen and twenty-one of this act and all acts in amendment thereof and in addition thereto; and shall make suitable provisions for the government and control, and for the appointment of proper teachers and officers thereof. But the county commissioners of two, three or four contiguous counties may, and if three or more cities or towns in each of such counties require, shall, at the expense of said counties, establish for said counties at a convenient place therein a union truant school, to be organized and controlled by the chairman of the county commissioners of said counties, in a manner provided for the government and control of county truant schools by county commissioners; and any county so unitihg with another county or counties in the support of a union truant school shall not be required to support a truant school of its own.

SECT. 17. A town may assign any such truant school, or, with the assent of the state board of lunacy and charity, the state primary school, as the place of confinement, discipline and instruction of children so convicted; and shall pay for their support such sum, not exceeding two dollars a week for each child, as the county commissioners or the trustees of the state primary and reform schools respectively shall determine.

SECT. 18. Children so committed may, upon satisfactory proof of amendment or other sufficient cause, be discharged from the state primary school by said state board, and from other places of confinement by the judge or justice who committed them.

SECT. 19. Each town shall make all needful provisions and arrangements concerning habitual truants, and children between seven and fifteen years of age who may be found wandering about in the streets or public places therein, having no lawful occupation or business, not attending school and growing up in ignorance, and such children as persistently violate the reasonable rules and regulations of the public schools; and shall make such by-laws as shall be most conducive to the welfare of such children, and to the good order of such town; and shall provide suitable places for the confinement, discipline and instruction of such children.

SECT. 20. The school committee of each town shall appoint and fix the compensation of two or more suitable persons, to be designated truant officers, who shall, under the direction of said committee, inquire into all cases arising under such by-laws, and shall alone be authorized, in case of violation thereof, to make complaint and carry into execution the judgment thereon; and who may serve all legal processes issued by the courts in pursuance of such by-laws, or of sections fifteen to twenty-four inclusive of this act, but who shall not be entitled to receive any fees for such service.

SECT. 21. Any minor convicted under a by-law made under section nineteen of this act of being an habitual truant, or of wandering about in the streets and public places of a city or town, having no lawful employment or business, not attending school and growing up in ignorance, or of persistently violating the rules and regulations of the public schools, shall be committed to any institution of instruction or suitable situation provided for the purpose, under the authority of said section or by-law, for a term not exceeding two years.

SECT. 22. Whoever, after notice from a truant officer to refrain from so doing, offers a reward for services to any child, in consequence of which reward such child is induced unlawfully to absent himself from school, or whoever, after notice as aforesaid, in any manner entices or induces any child to truancy, or whoever knowingly employs or harbors any truant or unlawful absentee from school, shall forfeit not less than twenty nor more than fifty dollars to the use of the public schools of the city or town in which said offense occurs, to be recovered by complaint.

SECT. 23. Truant officers in cities and towns are hereby authorized, under the direction of the school committee of their respective cities and towns, to apprehend and to take to school without warrant all truants found wandering about in the streets or public places.

SECT. 24. The school committee of any city or town in any county or counties where a union or county truant school has been or shall hereafter be established may, with the approval of the court making the original commitment and with the consent of the county commissioners of the county in which such truant school is established, cause all persons confined in the truant or farm school in such city or town, when such farm school is a truant school, to be removed to such union or county truant school to complete the term for which they were originally committed, subject however to the provisions of law as to release before the expiration of such term.

SECT. 25. The school committees of the several towns shall annually report to the secretary of the board of education whether their respective towns have made the provisions required by law relating to truants and absentees from school.

SECT. 26. Each town may, and every town containing five thousand or more inhabitants shall, make all needful provisions and arrangements concerning children under sixteen years of age who by reason of orphanage or of neglect, crime, drunkenness or other vice of parents, are suffered to grow up without salutary parental control and education, or in circumstances exposing them to lead idle and dissolute lives; and may also make all such by-laws respecting such children as shall be deemed most conducive to their welfare and to the good order of the town.

SECT. 27. The selectmen of towns containing five thousand or more inhabitants, and of other towns accepting the provisions of sections twenty-five to twenty-eight, inclusive, of this act, shall appoint suitable persons to make complaints of violations of by-laws adopted under the preceding section; and the person so appointed, and the officers and duly appointed agents of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, shall alone be authorized to make such complaints and to carry into execution the judgments thereon; and the persons so appointed shall alone be authorized to make complaints under the following section.

SECT. 28. A judge of the superior court, or of a police, district or municipal court, or a trial justice, upon proof that any child under sixteen years of age, by reasons of orphanage or of the neglect, crime, drunkenness or other vice of parents, is growing up without salutary parental control and education, or in circumstances exposing such child to lead an idle and dissolute life, may order such child to such institution of instruction or other place assigned for the purpose as may be provided under section nineteen of this act by the town in which such child resides, to be there kept, educated and cared for, for a term not extending beyond the age of twenty-one years for boys, or eighteen years for girls.

SECT. 29. When the parents of a child committed under the preceding section have reformed and are leading orderly and industrious lives, and are in a condition to exercise salutary parental control over such child, and to provide him with proper education and employment, or when, said parents being dead, any person offers to make such suitable provision for the care, nurture and education of such child as will conduce to the public welfare, and will give security for the performance of the same satisfactory to the directors, trustees, overseers, or other board having charge of the institution to which such child is committed, they may discharge him to the parents or to such other person.

SECT. 30. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed.

Debs Fund.

The following sums have been received and forwarded to Eugene V. Debs. The list includes only those unions that transmitted through this office:

	Previously acknowledged	$527 31
Mar.		
8.	Tobacco wrappers and feeders 5776, St. Loius	10 00
19.	Cigarmakers 32, Louisville, Ky.	15 00
27.	Cigarmakers 114, Louisville, Ky.	17 00
	Total	$569 31

The man with a fad to solve the labor problem. He is becoming more numerous every day. This is an indication of the increase of investigation. But it is usually the case that the faddist, in the degree that he becomes enamored of his theory, forgets his trade union. Earnest union men have been known to forsake their union meetings regularly in order that they could boost a fad. Occasionally they may drop in on us, but it is soon seen they are bent on having their fad endorsed. Often it happens that over in another corner of the hall we have a member with an entirely different fad; and it is when fad A clashes with fad B or C that the interests of our union become neglected and the average member discontented.. And these discussions are often long and bitter, for workingmen have not yet learned to reason without intolerance, and hence we witness the deplorable spectacle of men who have devoted their lives to labor charging upon each other with the vigor of ward room politicians. Just now the trade unions, having wrestled with and safely weathered opposing forces in many forms—a public prejudice, a domineering press, rival organizations, and what not—are passing through the fad era. Having almost entirely wiped out creed and race prejudice with our trade unions, it would seem as if in the days to come, we are to be rent in factions with politics and economic vagaries, to the delectation and profit of our common enemies and tools.

* * *

In years gone by politics was as stringently eschewed as was religion from entering our ranks, and many unions to-day have a provision to that effect. Under this guiding principle our unions have grown and prospered, leaving an unlimited domain for political action on the outside. The experience and teachings of the past are evidently growing dim, and we must, it would seem, receive the lesson once more before regaining our senses. Political reform is not so much needed inside the trade unions as it is on the outside, and if those of us who think otherwise would put our services where they would do the most good, we would go into the ward rooms and inaugurate reform there, not bring the ward room into our unions. And perhaps after a practical experience with the heeler and the boss, some of us would learn that education must be much more widely diffused before political action can be of any avail. Meantime we should jealously guard our trade unions, and while always willing to listen to the man with a fad, invariably impress it upon his mind that he must keep his hands off our trade unions. We know of many organizations anxious for a chance to spread the light. Why not experiment on them? Why not turn the lenses of the political alchemy on the Christian Endeavorers, the Sons of Temperance or the Old Ladies' Sewing Circle? Why play football with the trade unions?

* * *

A military revival is now presumably in order. Preparations are being made to introduce and cultivate an esprit d' corps in our schools. The state never fails to take advantage of any and all means at its disposal to uphold the state, and thus prostitute the confidence intrusted by the people. What does this arming of the youth mean? Protection for the trade unionist? Hardly. And why does the State assume that the people desire such an education given to their children? There is no such assumption. It is an arrogant proceeding on the part of the "ins" to quell at its inception a movement of the "outs" which might endanger their position. Landed safely, they would entrench themselves. The daily silly-billies, their tools, the croakers of law and order, being unable to cope with the difficulty to hoodwink the toiler any longer, the "saviors of society" resort to force—to arms.

* * *

Let us see. Did not a wise man once say that "he who taketh to the sword shall perish by the sword?" We have a healthy suspicion that these school children in after years, when engaged in the struggle of bread-winning, will not all turn traitors to their fellows and support scabism. So let the flag wave over the school house while empty stomachs learn songs of patriotism!

* * *

Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, has confounded the bourgeoise economists. The theory that over-production prevents consumption, that retrenchment a la Atkinson cooking stove will retain what was not had; that the poor we always have outside of Paradise until they get in, as well as the horrible example of the camel vs. needle's eye tragedy, are all being knocked in the head. Said mayor undertook, with the aid of a few labor cranks and philanthropic real estate owners, to set the unemployed at work tilling the soil. The venture has turned out so that a movement is on foot in New York to do likewise. It has been actually demonstrated that the unemployed, the loafers, the tramps, the submerged tenth, will work if they are given half a chance. Verily, we must revise our later day philosophy!

* * *

Economists have ably demonstrated that the laborer is paid by his product. That is, his wages should be an equivalence of that which he produces. If he offer 10 for exchange, he should get 10 in return. If he receive but 9, 8 or less, how can he buy 10? When the latter happens, exchange is impeded, production lessened and wages fall. Therefore, when our worthy friends, published in another column in the unfair list, act in this wise, we must refuse to exchange with them; because, while they, no doubt, are innocent enough and think themselves pillars of society and all that, they yet are an injury to the community, and jurisprudence has so often demonstrated that ignorance is no excuse for crime. Our sympathies go out to them, but justice admits of no sentiment in this case. That is why we are sad, when we see them so appear in public in all their nakedness. We would fain put them under cover. But how?

* * *

We should first write to the secretaries of the unions directly concerned. Find out just why so many otherwise respectable men must need act the part of insanity. Then write to the firms themselves. Quote from the decalogue, if necessary. No. 8 will do. Express your sorrow, why you are sorry, and how easily you could be made happy. If in the rush of business they should forget to answer you, do not get discouraged. Call on their patrons in your vicinity, and get them to do the letter-writing. See that a committee is appointed by your union to attend to the matter thoroughly. We feel for these firms. We feel them every minute. They ought to feel us. We know they mean well, and hence we do not even suggest a boycott. That is not only vulgar, it is illegal. A learned jurist has said it. Again, we once knew a man whose business was seriously crippled by a boycott.

M.

THE tin, sheet iron and cornice workers met in convention in the Indiana state house April 3. President Wm. B. Prescott, of the I. T. U., extended greetings for organized labor of Indianapolis, and Acting President James Duncan on behalf of the A. F. of L.

THE attention of organized labor is called to the following retail clothiers dealing in the unfair product of Hackett, Carhart & Co,, of New York; Collins & Hackett, Scranton, Pa.; F. W. Humphrey & Co., St. Louis, Mo,; Leon Godchaux, New Orleans, La.; George Muse & Co,, Atlanta, Ga.

OFFICE OF
JOURNEYMEN TAILORS UNION OF AMERICA,
NEW YORK, April 2, 1895.

To the Organizers of the A. F. of L.:

BROTHERS—In behalf of the Journeymen Tailors Union of America I solicit your help in extending our union. We request most earnestly every organizer of the A. F. of L. located in cities where the tailors have no union, to make a spécial effort to organize them, in affiliation with our organization. Information and documents will be furnished on application.

JOHN B. LENNON, General Secretary,
Journeymen Tailors Union of America, box 30, station D, New York City.

CHICAGO LABOR NOTES.

BY P. J. MAAS.

THE Bindery Girls Union gives its first ball on April 19.

THE Hotel and Restaurant Employes Union is making war on women working in saloons.

THE button of the United Garment Workers Union is becoming quite numerous and is very neat.

THE West Side elevated railroad will soon be in operation, and will give employment to about 600 men.

FORGED fac similes of the label of the Allied Printing Trades Council are quite common on campaign printing.

AMONG the seventy applicants for admission to the bar, who were recently examined, was "Tommy" Morgan.

THE Reed and Rattan Workers Union has adopted a new scale of wages. No trouble followed the adoption of the new schedule, except in one small shop.

THE strike against the firm of Miller Bros., dealers in architectural iron work, which had been in progress for several days, has been settled and all the employes have returned to work.

M. M. BROWN, a building contractor who tried to "flim-flam" union labor by holding back a portion of each man's wages to apply the same on worthless building lots at Harvey, has been found guilty in the courts of practicing a confidence game.

A HANDFUL of disgruntled job printers of this city recently held a secession meeting in a parlor of a five-dollar-a-day hotel for the purpose of forming a separate organization, but cooler counsel prevailed and a division in the ranks of the printers was prevented.

A LARGE number of Pullman strikers of last summer will settle this spring as a colony at Sullivan, La. The colony will be made up largely of men who have worked for the Pullman company, who are now blacklisted, and men now working in the Pullman shops.

A SUB-COMMITTEE of the Illinois legislature is in session in this city investigating the convict contract labor system in vogue. The main result of the investigation is to be the formulation of a bill for the governing of penal institutions where the work comes in competition with free labor.

THE committee soliciting funds for the defense of the imprisoned coal miners in Tarzewell county is meeting with much success. On the 21st inst. Sam T. Jack donated the use of his opera house and the company playing there donated their services for a benefit performance, which netted a snug sum.

IN last month's notes mention was made of the noble work being done by Chaplin McNeal, of the Seamen's Union, at his free home for poor sailors, at 85 Grand avenue. This grand institution must not be confounded with the notorious dive and bum-boat at the Kinzie street bridge, conducted by the "Rev." E. R. Pierce.

THE Chicago Ornamental Iron Company, Twenty-sixth and Halstead streets, has withdrawn its demand that all employes shall insure themselves against accident through the company. The company posted a notice a week ago that one and one-fourth per cent. of the wages would be deducted from the wages of the employes each week and the money used in taking out policies in an accident company. On the 20th inst., the first pay day after the order went into effect, the money was deducted, and the next day the 106 employes went on strike. On the 22d the order was withdrawn and the employes returned to work.

THE supreme court of Illinois has declared unconstitutional the law of 1893, which limited the number of hours during which women could be employed in shops or factories to eight in any one day or forty-eight in any one week, and now every effort is being made to secure the passage of a new bill which limits the employment of children under eighteen years of age to eight hours a day. As the court announced that its decision would not apply to a law protecting minors alone, there in no danger of unconstitutionality in this case, and as the new bill applies to minors employed by mercantile establishments as well as the employes of factories and work shops, it avoids any discrimination between employers and affects about as many working people as the law of 1893.

ALL theaters in this city which are running continuous shows have discharged their orchestras and use only a piano player, thereby dispensing with the services of a large number of members of the musical union.

THE secretary of state recently issued incorporation papers to another Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association. This makes three organizations of switchmen that have sprung up since the old association went out of existence.

"DIE FREIE PRESSE," a German daily of this city, is set up by "rat" printers. The publisher of this paper started a "union" of his own two years ago, and came to grief. It would seem that the lesson taught him then has been forgotten, but organized labor has not forgotten the fact, and unless he employs union labor very shortly he will have the same experience as he did then and as did another German daily here last fall, which, with three editions a day, in a couple of weeks dwindled down to a weekly, and as such appeared two successive weeks. This ought to be a lesson for "Mike" and his "rat" printers.

THE annual convention of the Illinois Brotherhood of Theatrical Stage Employes, recently held in this city, was attended by fifty-one delegates, representing forty-seven organizations in the state. Officers for the next year were elected as follows: President, Lee M. Hart; vice-president, Frank Gannon; recording and financial secretary, George W. Glenny; treasurer, John Marsh; sergeant-at-arms, J. Davitt; trustees, Charles Beach, T. J. Lockwood and J. Vanderberg; executive board to act in conjunction with the officers, G. Smith and C. Beach; delegates to the national convention, which will meet in Boston July 8, Lee M. Hart, George W. Glenny and Frank Gannon.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

DOES your craft paper publish the unfair list?

A RED cross on the wrapper indicates that your subscription has expired.

COPIES of the list of unfair products can be had on application to this office.

THE Indianapolis tailors organized at the A. F. of L. headquarters March 25.

THE Alabama mine workers have voted to affiliate with their national organization.

TYPOGRAPHICAL Union No. 6, New York, expended $30,858.32 on its unemployed members the past year.

IS your union credited with payment of per capita tax in the financial statement? If so, for what month?

THE shirt, collar and cuff workers of Troy have adopted an oblong, diamond-shaped label, affixed with a rubber stamp in blue ink.

MATTERS having been satisfactorily arranged between the Brockton branch of the Lasters' Protective Union and the Bouve-Crawford Shoe Company, the boycott is lifted from that firm.

THE Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators organized, the past month, unions in Lafayette, Ind.; Elmira, N. Y.; North Adams, Mass., and Westfield, Mass. Organizers are requested to pay special attention to the painters.

THE attention of organizers is called to the following provision (Art. 13, Sec. 4) of the constitution: "The A. F. of L. shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from local unions, or federal labor unions from a vicinity where a chartered central labor union exists, to that body for investigation and approval."

IN acknowledging receipt of a copy of the Maine report of the bureau of industrial and labor statistics for 1894 it must be said that the bureau deserves great credit for the amount of valuable information contained in the 1894 volume, as well as for the promptness of publication. The state of Maine has reason to be proud of its officers in this department.

WE DON'T PATRONIZE.

Union workingmen and workingwomen and sympathizers with labor have refused to purchase articles produced by the following firms. Labor papers please copy:

J. W. LOSSE TAILORING CO., ST. LOUIS.
S. OTTENBERG & BROS.' CIGARS.
GEO. EHRET'S LAGER BEER.
JACKSON BREWERY, LAGER BEER.
STUDEBAKER BROS. MAN'F'G CO'S CARRIAGES AND WAGONS.
ST. LOUIS BREWERS' ASSOCIATION, LAGER BEER.
PRAY, SMALL & CO., SHOES.
AMERICAN BISCUIT CO'S BISCUITS.
MEYER, JONASSEN & CO., CLOAKS.
WESTERN WHEEL BICYCLE CO., CHICAGO. "Blackhawk," "Crescent," "Escort," "Juno," "Rob Roy."
RAND-McNALLY PUBLISHING CO., CHICAGO.
WASHBURN-CROSBY CO., FLOUR, MINNEAPOLIS.
SCHOOL SEAT CO., FURNITURE, GRAND RAPIDS.
PFAFF BREWING CO., BOSTON.
YOCUM BROS., CIGARS, READING, PA.
BOSTON PILOT, BOSTON REPUBLIC.
GLENDALE FABRIC CO., EAST HAMPTON, MASS.
HOPEDALE MFG. CO., HOPEDALE, MASS.
A. F. SMITH, SHOES, LYNN, MASS.
UNITED STATES BAKING CO.
WERNER PRINTING CO., AKRON, O.
HAMILTON-BROWN SHOE CO., ST. LOUIS.
DAUBE, COHEN & CO., CLOTHING, CHICAGO.
MESKER BROS., ST. LOUIS.
CLEMENT, BANE & CO., CLOTHIERS, CHICAGO.
HACKETT, CARHART & CO., CLOTHIERS, NEW YORK.

OFFICE OF
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.
Indianapolis, Ind., Mar. 31, 1895.

To all Affiliated Unions:

Notice is hereby given that the J. W. Losse Progressive Tailoring Co., of St. Louis, has been declared unfair by the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. This action has been indorsed by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., after due investigation and attempted settlement. Secretaries please read at union meetings.

Per order of Executive Council,
AUG. MCCRAITH, Sec'y.

OFFICE OF
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.
Indianapolis, Ind., Mar. 31, 1895.

To all Affiliated Unions:

Notice is hereby given that the Bouve-Crawford Shoe Co., of Brockton, Mass., having made a settlement with the Lasters Union of that city, the Bouve-Crawford shoe is hereby removed from the unfair list. Secretaries please read at union meetings.

Per order of Executive Council,
AUG. MCCRAITH, Secy.

The anti-sweat shop law passed by the recent Maryland legislature is not the dead letter the "boss sweaters" claimed it was. This fact became interestingly known March 19 to Simon Freedman, 1164 Low street; Jacob Tazler, 1147 McElderry street; David Wolfe, 343 North Gay street; Bernhard Cohen, 1140 McElderry street; Harris Lauchman, 1137 McElderry street; Jacob Lutzkey, 1121 McElderry street; Heyman Solomon, 1148 Low street, and Nathan Goldstein, 1133 Low street, all of Baltimore, who were arrested by employes of the health department of that city for neglecting to provide 400 cubic feet of air space for each person employed by them, as required by the above law.

Financial Statement.

REPORT OF SECRETARY.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., March 1, 1895.

Following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the month of February. (The months are abbreviated thus: j, f, m, a, m, etc.)

RECEIPTS.

Feb.		
1.	Cash on hand	$2,177 27
1.	Woman's federal laberal 2703, supplies	1 00
	Coremakers prot. 6451, tax, n, d, j	62
	Federal labor 6488, sup	10 00
2.	Firemen's prot. 6130, tax, aug	40
	Fayette R. Plumb, adv	10 00
	Nat. brotherhood of electrical wkrs, tax, n, d, j	15 00
	Coal wheelers 5814, tax, d, j, 50c; sup. $1	1 50
4.	Tobacco stemmers 6083, tax, d, j	6 50
	Amal. asso. of iron and steel wkrs., tax, n, d, j	60 00
	Supplies	30
	Hack and cab drivers 6309, tax, o, n, d	1 00
	Pavers and rammermen, 5611, tax, j, f, m, $1.50; sup. 50c	2 00
	Glass glaziers and lead prot. 6478, sup	4 00
	Actors prot. 3, sup	5 00
	Bleachers and dyers 6489, sup	8 00
	Copies proceedings	1 92
5.	Mattress makers 6490, sup	10 00
6.	Musicians prot. 6408, tax, d, j	1 28
	Sewer laborers 6649, tax, j, f	4 00
	Journeymen tailors of America, tax, o, n, d, j, f	50 00
	Coremakers 5394, tax, o, n, d, j, f	85
	Kiln tenders and lime stevedores 6499, sup	10 00
7.	Federal labor 6400, tax, j, $1.15; sup. $1	2 15
	Reed rattan and willow wkrs. 6454, tax, d	57
9.	Subscriptions	5 00
	Coremakers 6355, tax d, j, f	30
	Trunk mkrs. prot. 6353, tax, n,d, j, $1.05; sup. 45	1 0
	Northwestern millmen 5474, tax, n, d, j	2 28
	Newsboys 6492	10 00
11.	Musical prot. 6462, tax, j	08
	Thread dressers 6140, sup	2 00
	Table knife grinders nat. tax, d, j, f	2 19
	Drop hammer employes, sup	1 25
13.	United garment workers, tax, jan	25 00
	Drop forger and hammermen 6401, tax, jan	40
	Trunk wkrs prot. 6353, sup	2 00
	Federal labor 5335, sup	1 00
	Copies of debate	3 20
14.	Mattress wkrs. 6490	1 00
	Actors prot. tax, s, o, n, d, $27.15; sup. $4	31 15
	Muscatine trades assembly, sup	1 25
	Musicians ben. and prot. asso. 6370, tax, d, j	2 95
	Wire drawers and die mkrs 5114, tax, j, f, m	3 45
	Bldg. laborers and hod carriers 6339, tax, j, f	30
15.	Roll workers prot. 6457, jan	42
16.	Federal labor 6420, tax, j, f	48
	Horse nail workers 6170, sup	5 00
	Glass stainers and lead glaziers 6478, tax, j, f	1 00
	Federal labor 5759, sup	2 00
17.	Stationary firemen 6406, sup	3 75
18.	Drop forger and hammermen 6481, sup	1 50
	Stove fitters 5828, tax, m	10
	Tobacco box mkrs. 6042, tax, f	1 50
	Federal labor 6402, tax, d, j	1 87
	Clay wkrs. prot. 6459, tax, o, n, d, j, f, m	42
	Marble, granite and slate polishers 5249, tax, n, d, j	1 :0
	Copies proceedings	2 90
	Copies debate	3 20
	Small supplies	80
	Copies of FEDERATIONIST	65
	Subscriptions	5 40
19.	Horse nail wkrs. 6313, tax, s, o, n, d, j	4 05
	United clay wkrs. 6418, sup	1 00
	Gray's harbor fishermen 6477, tax, d, j, $2.30; sup. $4	6 30
	Federal labor 6423, tax, s, o, n	60
	Packers and nailers 6152, tax, f, 60c; sup. $1	1 60
20.	Ladies federal labor 5736, tax, j, f	1 48
	Oil workers 5612, tax, j, f, m, $1.05; sup. $1	2 05
	Bleachers and dyers 6489, sup	1 00
	Butchers and meat cutters 6260, tax, f	16
21.	Casket hardware wkrs 6461, tax, d, j, f, 90c; sup. $1	1 90
	Subscriptions	4 10
	Actors 3, sup	1 00
	Sewing women's prot. 5902, tax to Feb. 1	80
22.	Carriage hardware wkrs 6419, tax, jan	28
	Federal labor 6480, tax, j, 20c; sup. $1.55	1 75
22.	Marine firemen 5626, tax, j, f, 80c; sup. $1	1 80
23.	Can solderers prot. 6152, tax, s, o, n, d, j	1 50
	Actors 4, sup	10 00
	Newsboys 6492, tax, f	32
	Motor and car repairers 6466, tax, jan	60
25.	Brooklyn progressive musical 6347, tax to Feb. 1	3 00
	Brickmakers 6147, tax, j, f, m	1 50
	Metal polishers, buffers and platers, tax, n, d, j, f	6 00
	Silver burnishers 6234, tax, d, j, f	78
	Cloth hat and cap cutters 6167, tax, j, a, s	1 50

Feb.		
26.	Musicians mutual prot. 6411, tax, j, f, m	1 17
	Miners prot. 6395, tax, jan, 80c; sup. $1.75	2 55
	Wire drawers and die mkrs 6460, sup	10 00
	Lathers 6494, sup	5 00
	Polish laborers alliance 6493, sup	5 00
	Freight handlers 6498, sup	10 00
	Shingle weavers 6495, sup	5 00
	Lathers 5665, sup	5 00
27.	Miners and mine laborers, sup	5 00
	Hod carriers 5467, tax, d, j, f, m, a	1 00
	Tobacco wkrs. 4087, tax, j	1 90
	Musicians mutual prot. 5533, tax, n, d	2 25
	Elastic web weavers amal. asso., tax, d, j, f, m	3 56
	Laborers prot. 6315, tax, n, d, j	1 08
	Hotel and restaurant emp. tax, d, j	8 00
	Pattern mkrs. national league, tax, jan	1 75
28.	Structural iron wkrs 5723, tax, d, j, f	21
	Cotton and woollen wkrs 6499, sup	5 00
	Subscriptions	14 28
	Copies of debate	90
	Total	$2,655 87

EXPENSES.

1.	Ten days' rent ending January 31, Dyer & Rassman, Indianapolis	$7 00
	One month's rent in advance, Dyer & Rasaman, Indianapolis	35 00
	Expressage, U. S. Exp. Co., Indianapolis	1 61
2.	Hardware, Hildebrand & Fugate, Indianapolis	50
4.	Expressage on proceedings from New York, Adams Exp. Co., Indianapolis	18 10
5.	Mucilage, Cathcart, Cleland & Co., Indianapolis	1 00
	300 1-cent stamps, post office, FEDERATIONIST	3 00
	Telegrams, Postal Tel. Co., Indianapolis	40
6.	Expenses attending passage of Seaman's bill at Washington, A. Strasser	105 00
7.	Commission on adv., Henry Rice, New York	25 00

Feb.		
7.	Telegram, Western Union, Indianapolis	60
11.	Carbon paper for typewriter, Smith-Premier Type Writer Co., Indianapolis	50
	Twenty-five record books, Bowen Merrill Co	5 00
	Services on Seamen's bills at Washington, A. Furuseth	100 00
12.	Seals and pads, Geo. J. Mayer, Indianapolis	8 50
	Postage stamps, 150 3c; 100 2c, post office, Ind'pls	6 50
	Telegrams, Western Union	1 10
18.	Appropriation by convention to Eugene V. Debbs	250 00
23.	Services on Seaman's bills at Washington, A. Strasser	75 50
	100 boxes for supplies, Indianapolis box factory	6 35
	Sign for door, Standard Sign Co., Indianapolis	7 00
	Keys of New York office, Chas. Harft, New York	60
	Printing FEDERATIONIST, Indianapolis Ptg. Co	93 34
	5,000 wrappers, 50 charter blanks, etc., Indianapolis Ptg. Co	8 00
	Balance due on printing proceedings Denver convention and 2,500 constitutions, Concord Co-Operative Printing Co., New York	172 60
28.	One month salary to date, John McBride	150 00
	" " " " " Aug. McCraith	125 00
	" " " " " Chris Evans	72 00
	" " " " " H. Parmelee, stenog	40 00
	Stamps rec'd. and used	13 22
	Janitor, from Jan. 20 to Feb. 28	10 00
	Total	$1,342 42

RECAPITULATION.

Cash on hand February 1	$2,177 27
Receipts for February	478 60
	$2,655 87
Expenses	1,342 42
Balance	$1,313 45

THE

Christian Moerlein Brewing Co.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

BREWERS AND BOTTLERS OF

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The **Prudential**

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Premiums are paid weekly, in sums of Five Cents and upwards.

This company insures every healthy member of a family between the ages of one and seventy and every policy now issued by it is in immediate benefit and guarantees a paid up policy after a certain number of premiums have been paid.

It has issued over Eight Million Policies.

It pays all claims within 24 hours after proof of death has reached the Home Office.

It has paid in Death Claims over $18,000,000.

In its ORDINARY BRANCH it issues various forms of Policies, for from One Thousand to Twenty-five Thousand Dollars, embodying advantages which appeal to the different classes of applicants some of which are offered by no other Company.

Home Office, NEWARK, N. J.

JOHN F. DRYDEN, President.
LESLIE D. WARD, Vice-President.
EDGAR B. WARD, 2d Vice-Pres. and Council.
FORREST F. DRYDEN, Secretary.

Special Notice

.....Each and Every Union Member in good standing is hereby appointed a committee of one to see that every retail clothier in his district carries a full line of **Union Label Clothing and none other.** Failure to comply with such request being the loss of patronage not alone of all union members, but their friends as well.

Members, Do Your Duty

DEMAND UNION CLOTHING

UNION LABEL

BUY NONE OTHER

THE WELL-KNOWN FIRM OF

Kahn, Schoenbrun & Co.

ADAMS AND MARKET STS....CHICAGO

ARE THE EXCLUSIVE MANUFACTURERS OF THESE GOODS

IN THE WEST

UNION LABELS.

The above label is the only genuine one for Custom Tailoring if you purchase your clothing from a Merchant Tailor having made to order insist that this label be attached.

Journeymen Tailors Union of America.

This is an exact facsimile of the American Federation of Labor Badge. It is of Rolled Gold, beautifully enameled in three colors, red, white and blue. They are sold at 50 cents each, or $5.00 per dozen.

See that all ready-made Clothing, Cloaks, Overalls, Shirts and Rubber Clothing bears the above label as a guarantee of being made under fair, sanitary and union conditions. The labels are attached by machine stitching to the inside breast pockets of coats, on the inside of the buckle strap of vests and on the waistband lining of pants.

The Printers' Label of which above is a cut is issued by unions subordinate to the International Typographical Union and indicates that the composition is done by Union Printers. The blank is filled by inserting name of issuing union. In the larger cities where pressmen, stereotypers etc. are organized under the I. T. U. the "Allied Trades Label" is issued, a cut of which is found on the editorial page of this magazine.

REGISTERED.

This Label is used on all goods made by Union men connected with Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor where such unions have no distinctive trade label of their own. This label is printed dark blue on white paper.

REGISTERED.

American Federation of Labor Label, (Small Size)

See that a cut of this Union Label is on all printing in the German language.

The above Label is issued by the Iron Moulders' Union of North America and can be found on all union made stoves, ranges and iron castings. It is printed in black ink on white paper and pasted on all union made stoves, ranges and castings.

The above is the Union Label on every Horse Collar made by union men.

This is the joint Label of the Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union and of the Lasters' Protective Union and all other union men in the Boot and Shoe trade. It is printed in blue ink and pasted on every boot and shoe made by union men. It guarantees the boots and shoes are not convict or prison made.

The Tackmakers' Union is the oldest labor organization in America. It was founded in 1824. Above is the label placed by the Society on every package of Union made tacks.

International

This is the label of the Journeymen Bakers and Confectioners, under the International Union. It is printed on white paper in black ink and is pasted on each loaf of bread. It means death to long hours and low wages in bakers' slave pens underground.

Cigar Makers' International Union of America, union label. If you are opposed to the servile labor, to Chinese, to convict labor, or the filthy tenement house factories, smoke none but union made cigars. The color of the label is light blue. See that the label is on every box.

This is a fac-simile of the badge worn by all members of the Retail Clerks' National Protective Association of the United States. See that all salesmen and clerks wear this badge and you may be sure they are union men.

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